/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 534 202 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home. Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 [127] Every village has its common land, common pasture, and common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

427 The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor.

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɜʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called ndˢʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb,

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials.

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along.

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as